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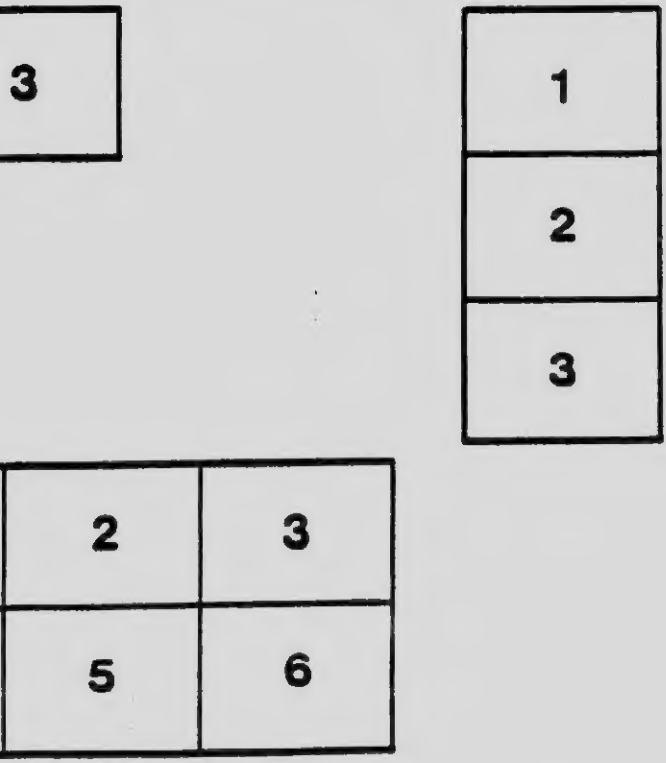

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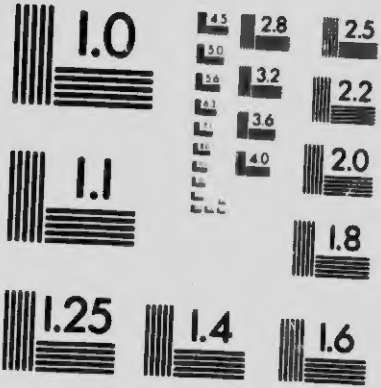

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CANADA
AND
CHAMBERLAINISM.

BY

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SO long as the counsel to "thi
flattering invitation to a
conclusions, representing the
independent thinking, there may l
and programmes, with very varied
under one banner and using the
undoubtedly, something very attra
merely an adhesion to a system of
*n*th, and named Imperialism, the
is that all who believe in it shall
enriched far beyond their present

The name Imperialism has b
monopolised. It brings with it
satisfying nature, and a spacious a
to render any further investigati
most sordid motives enlisted un
respectable, and in this large atme
expands into positive benevolen
the Chamberlain type of Imperial
throughout the Empire is encour
give to *x* and *n* whatever come
interests, and forthwith find the
with the assurance that henceforth
this interest.

As an indication of how this
find that under ordinary conditi
Chamberlain's new scheme, whi
instance, wishes to sell more cloth
owner declares that he is being
British goods, and clamours for
But, in the eyes of the new Imp
people are opposed to each other
not properly bound together.
of the new gospel these antagonism

CANADA
AND
BERLAINISM.

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nsed to "think Imperially" means simply a
ation to accept certain vague, foregone
esenting the most perfect economy of real or
there may be all manner of local enterprises
very varied motives behind them, lined up
l using the same shibboleth. There is,
g very attractive in a creed which requires
a system of things represented by x to the
alism, the only concrete certainty of which
in it shall be individually and collectively
eir present condition.

alism has been well chosen and adroitly
gs with it suggestions of an uplifting and
a spacious atmosphere, which together seem
investigation unnecessary. Moreover, the
enlisted under this banner begin to look
large atmosphere the narrowest selfishness
benevolence. Under the programme of
of Imperialism, every considerable interest
e is encouraged in the belief that it may
atever concret. values may suit its local
h find them take on an Imperial aspect,
at henceforth the whole Empire promotes

f how this works out in the concrete, we
ary conditions, before the advent of Mr.
heme, while the British mill-owner, for
more cloth in Canada, the Canadian mill-
e is being ruined by the competition of
umours for an increased tariff protection.
e new Imperialism, it is plain that these
each other simply because the Empire is
ogether. Under the unifying influence
antagonisms will all vanish, and what now

appears a conflict of interests will then appear as an essential unity of interests.

CANADIANS AND TARIFF REFORM.

What, then, are the bonds which unite the Canadian and British manufacturers of competing goods? Obviously the common desire to sell their wares, with a view to making money. On learning that Mr. Chamberlain is perfectly in sympathy with their aspirations, the Canadian manufacturers greatly rejoice, and, indeed, on second thoughts, his scheme of Imperialism when put into operation must, of necessity, greatly increase their business, for is it not one of Mr. Chamberlain's chief designs to enrich every important interest in all parts of the Empire? The Canadian manufacturer, much encouraged, goes on with the work of getting the preference reduced, so as to keep out competing British goods, and plans still further movements in the same direction. He then passes most appreciative and generously-worded resolutions, expressing the utmost confidence in Mr. Chamberlain and his truly Imperialistic conceptions, desiring the speedy accomplishment of his plans, and pledging himself to promote them to the utmost of his ability.

These enthusiastic Colonial tributes, Mr. Chamberlain, with a very natural pride, triumphantly exhibits in Britain as evidence that the Canadian manufacturers, instead of being opposed to his proposals, heartily endorse them. And if the Canadian manufacturers endorse them, what must be the attitude of the other people of the country—the farmers and others who are most obviously to be favoured by his plans? Is it not plain that an immensely larger market for British goods will be furnished by these extensive regions, when once more united in closer bonds with the Mother Country?

"A HUGE AND SOLEMN FARCE."

Such are mere samples of the benefits of "thinking Imperially."

But what does it all mean? Why is this huge and solemn farce being enacted in the midst of fairly intelligent people? Why are so many reasonable and even able men going about with their tongues in their cheeks, gravely discoursing on Imperial matters, in a language more highly artificial than anything ever dreamt of in international diplomacy? Can it be that one part of the Empire hopes to deceive another into making engagements which no one would dare to present in their full and true light?

What Mr. Chamberlain really expects to get from Canada as a result of his bribe of a duty on food, which is represented as so important to us who are to receive it, and so insignificant to those in Britain who are to pay it, really passes comprehension. That a

man of his shrewdness and opportunities for getting information can for a moment suppose that he is going to get from Canada what he is promising on her behalf in Britain, is simply impossible.

A systematic misrepresentation of the attitude of any part of the Empire towards another is a matter of the gravest concern, as regards the future welfare of the whole. Those who take the trouble to follow the presentation of the Chamberlain programme on each side of the Atlantic, cannot but recognise that, on the one hand, the general attitude of the people of Canada towards the Mother Country is seriously misrepresented by Mr. Chamberlain and some of his chief supporters in their appeal to the people of Britain, and that, on the other hand, the attitude of the people in Britain is equally misrepresented in Canada.

CANADIAN LOYALTY.

In the first place, the attitude of Canada is misrepresented with the evident intention of raising an apprehension as to the possible alienation of her attachment to Britain. The people of Britain are given to understand that, unless they accept Mr. Chamberlain's programme, and that very speedily, Canada is almost certain to undergo a revulsion of sentiment towards the Mother Country. Stung with resentment at rejected overtures, this important Colony will transfer its affections elsewhere. Those, therefore, who decline to follow the apostle of Empire, are regularly denounced as the enemies of the Colonies, and disloyal to the best interests of their own country.

Now, whatever be the apparent attitude of Canadians towards Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, as they are presented and permitted to be interpreted in Canada, there are certain points upon which there is no doubt whatever as to the attitude of the vast majority of Canadians. In the first place, there is not the remotest danger of Canada deserting her attachment to Britain in order to join the United States. In the past such a possibility has been seriously considered only under conditions of at least sectional desperation, in every case the outcome of mistaken British paternalism. A recrudescence of British interference, as yet only foreshadowed in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of closer bonds, or the raising of expectations on both sides of the Atlantic, doomed to disappointment, would doubtless greatly chill Canadian enthusiasm for British connection; but in no case would Canada be driven to union with the United States.

Again, the possibility of a commercial union, or even of a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States, has become more and more remote. In any case, this possibility is in no danger of encouragement, should trade relations with Britain remain as they are. That there may be better trade relations between the United States and Canada is altogether likely, but

they will be improved through the independent action of each country, and only so far as each one consults its own interests. Such an improvement will be more natural and more permanent, because free and spontaneous, instead of the precarious outcome of international jockeying, which has never yet produced a stable or wholesome condition of trade. The same remarks apply to any policy of trade relations between Canada and the Mother Country.

The most fatal mistake which Britain could make would be to accept the restoration of those mechanical and mercenary bonds, under whatever gilded or insinuating disguises they may be presented by Mr. Chamberlain or any one else. It cannot, however, be too strongly emphasised that Canadian attachment to Britain is in no way dependent upon the volume of trade which passes between them. An increase of mutually beneficial trade is certainly to be desired, and no unnecessary obstacles should be put in its way. But how worse than useless must every attempt be to augment Imperial trade on any other than a business basis?

When Mr. Chamberlain seeks to alarm the British people into accepting his proposals, by arousing the apprehension that Canada, and possibly other Colonies, are in danger of being lost unless we reverse what he calls the policy of drift—which has permitted Canada to follow her own line of development—he is utterly misrepresenting the attitude of Canadians. We are in no danger of losing our attachment for Britain, unless it be, in some measure, as a result of the reaction from the failure of reckless and misleading promises made by Mr. Chamberlain on behalf of the Mother Country. Canada is misrepresented in Britain, not only as regards the uncertainty of her attachment to the Mother Country, but also as regards what she is prepared to concede to Britain in the way of increased imports of British goods.

A HEARTLESS DECEPTION.

It is quite true that very many Canadians, and among them the official representatives of the manufacturers and numerous boards of trade, have expressed themselves as more or less in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. But this proves nothing as regards the truth of Mr. Chamberlain's representations of Canadian sentiment, in Britain. For it must be understood that, in every case, these expressions of Canadian approval have been made on the basis of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals as presented and interpreted in Canada. It is the striking contrast, and, on several essential points, the absolute contradiction between the Canadian and the British interpretation of the same proposals, that constitute the heartless deception of the whole scheme, as regards the masses in Canada and in Britain, who respectively hear only one side of the story.

GREEKS WHO BEAR GIFTS.

Taking the Canadian side of the story, let us try to understand why it is that so many Canadians are either actively or passively favourable to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. We shall begin with what may appear to be the most paradoxical aspect of the situation. We might naturally expect that the most pronounced of Mr. Chamberlain's supporters in Canada would be the farmers, whose products are to be increased in value and demand by the taxes on British food supplies from other countries. On the contrary, the most enthusiastic Canadian disciples of Mr. Chamberlain are the manufacturers, whose market would be lessened by any increase in the imports of British goods. Now, encouragement from such a source might naturally have given pause to Mr. Chamberlain and his followers. The question would naturally suggest itself—have we nothing to fear from these Greeks so ostentatiously bearing gifts? Are not these the people who, under the leadership of Sir Charles Tupper, protested so vigorously against the adoption of the existing preference on British goods? And have they not finally succeeded in having the preference partially repealed just where it was most beneficial to British industries, and just when its amendment is likely to be most embarrassing to Mr. Chamberlain's campaign in Britain?

Nevertheless, from the Canadian side at least, this apparent paradox is not difficult of explanation: the majority of Canadian manufacturers have, from the first, taken a fairly consistent position as regards the preference on British goods. They have held, first, that the preference, so far as it actually encouraged British imports, was, for the most part, injurious to Canadian industry; second, that in any case it should not have been given without demanding an equivalent preference on Canadian goods in Britain. Despite the opposition of the manufacturers, however, the preference was carried in Canada entirely in the interests of the Canadian consumer, and it has been chiefly due to Mr. Chamberlain's agitation that the preference has been since interpreted as no longer an advantage to Canada, but as a special favour granted to Britain.

THE TAX ON FOOD.

When, nearly two years ago, Mr. Chamberlain came out with his proposal to tax the food of the British people in favour of Canada among other Colonies, he was hailed by Sir Charles Tupper and the Canadian manufacturers as a welcome convert to their views. A feeling of uneasiness developed when, in some of his earlier speeches, Mr. Chamberlain seemed to indicate that Canada was expected to furnish a still further market for British goods. However, Mr. Chamberlain has explained that the British

reporters were responsible for these objectionable features in his speeches, and has given the Canadian manufacturers to understand, through private letters which have been made public in Canada, that he does not propose to interfere with the due protection of their interests, and has no thought of encouraging the sale in Canada of any goods to which the Canadian manufacturers might object.

There is something more to be said for our manufacturers who support Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. Their programme for a higher protective tariff all round, in preparation for the promotion of which they are at present actively engaged, will naturally meet with its chief resistance at the hands of the agricultural element in the country, which if it could be actively organized would be quite fatal to their expectations. It is, therefore, the chief object of the manufacturers, when they cannot gain over, to at least neutralise, or keep dormant, the agricultural opposition. They maintain, for instance, that the higher protective duties for which they are agitating will not at all increase the price of goods to the consumer. Some of them are inclined to imitate Mr. Chamberlain in giving their word of honour to this effect. On the other hand, the immensely increased market and higher prices for Canadian agricultural produce, which the prosperity of manufacturers will ensure, must correspondingly enrich the Canadian farmers. The farmers should, therefore, be as enthusiastic for an exclusive tariff as the manufacturers themselves.

ROPING IN THE FARMERS.

Plain and conclusive as this argument is, yet the density of the agricultural intellect and the natural suspicion of the rural mind render it less successful than the manufacturers have reason to expect. Moreover, the Canadian farmer, having to sell such a large proportion of his agricultural produce abroad, has a vague idea that the price in his home market will largely depend upon the price in his foreign market. Here it is that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme comes to the rescue of the Canadian manufacturers. Mr. Chamberlain, if only his programme is accepted in Britain, will materially increase the price of food for the British public, and part of this increase at least will come to the Canadian farmer. Thus, Protection in Britain increasing the price of what is sold abroad, and Protection at home increasing the price of what is sold at home, a much stronger argument is available for the Canadian manufacturer, in his effort to prove that an all-round Protection of Canadian manufactured goods is the truest and most practical form of patriotism.

In the end, therefore, it is quite evident that the Canadian manufacturers' support of Mr. Chamberlain, as his proposals are

understood in Canada, is very far from paradoxical. How closely Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, as presented and understood in Canada, corresponds with itself as presented and understood in Britain, the people of Britain ought to be able to judge for themselves. If the people, knowing how Chamberlainism is interpreted in Canada, are willing to accept that interpretation and proceed to carry out Mr. Chamberlain's programme on these lines, then they will certainly have the cordial approval of practically everybody in Canada.

SECTIONAL DECEPTION.

Obviously, a plan or policy that is intended for the whole Empire must be understood in the same sense throughout the Empire. Certainly there is no excuse for being misunderstood on the essential or fundamental aspects of Imperial policy. Yet the chief exponents of Mr. Chamberlain's Imperialism have by vague promises roused great expectations as to the concrete personal and sectional benefits to be obtained at the hands of others, with the minimum of sacrifice on the part of the recipients. Is it not perfectly plain to disinterested persons who have the welfare of the Empire at heart, that nothing can be more destructive of all that is best worth preserving in a common British civilisation than the course of sectional deception which is at present being followed?

NOTE.

To what Professor Shortt says may be added the following extract from the *Toronto Globe*, April 12th, the principal Ministerial organ in Ontario:—

"By what authority does Mr. Chamberlain pose as interpreter of Canadian sentiment and ambition? What has he seen of Canada, and what does he know of Canadian feelings, that he should talk about the endangering of Canadian loyalty? Does he measure Canadian loyalty by an extra five per cent. or ten per cent. preference on Canadian wheat, or is he trying to 'bunco' the British elector into the adoption of Protection with a bogey game of Colonial dismemberment? A man who visited the United States again and again, but only once, even when Colonial Secretary, deigned to touch Canadian soil, is in no position to estimate either the quality or the strength of Canadian sentiment. It would be well for Mr. Chamberlain were he to base his Protective propaganda on the needs and interests of the British taxpayer, rather than the fickleness of Canadian loyalty. Imperialistic tuft-hunters may submit, but the point will soon be reached when intelligent and self-respecting Canadians will resent the persistent misrepresentation of Canadian sentiment by British politicians. One of our chief humiliations is the tone of men like Mr. Chamberlain, who think we are bound to the Empire by ties of trade preference."

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